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ADVICE

To a NEWLY

ELECTED MEMBER

OF

PARLIAMENT:

Inſcribed to the

Right Honble WILLIAM FITZGERALD,

Commonly called

MARQUESS of KILDARE.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

ADVICE

To a Newly

ELECTED MEMBER

OF

PARLIAMENT, &c.

YOU have now the Honour of being elected one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament of this large and growing Metropolis, having been invited thereto by a conſiderable Majority of thoſe, who had the natural and true Right of ſoliciting you to this important Truſt, and having ſucceeded therein againſt the powerful Intereſt of that worthy and reſpectable Family that oppoſed you; and but for your long Delay in declaring yourſelf, I doubt if you would have had a ſingle Competitor to contend with.

Give me Leave therefore, again to repeat, that however ſuperior you are in Dignity, Family, and Power, it is an Honour to your Lordſhip, and that this Honour is not paid to *you* only, but on Account of

thoſe illuſtrious Anceſtors, thoſe Champions of Liberty and true Patriotiſm, from whom you have the Bleſſing of being a Deſcendant, and upon whoſe Security, (as a late French Author has ſaid,) " a Letter of Cre-
" dit is given you by your Country, in the
" Confidence, that, at a proper Period of Life,
" you will acquit yourſelf with Honour to
" thoſe who ſtand engaged for you."

The Eyes of all will therefore be upon you, and very great their Expectations will be; to anſwer which, will be an arduous Taſk wherefore, and as your noble Father may yet live many Years, and you remain a Commoner until he ſhall be called from hence, when you are afterwards to fill an higher Department in the State, I ſhall as one of your Conſtituents preſume to offer ſome Hints which are meant well, and if attended to, may, (I will ſo far flatter myſelf,) be at leaſt of no Prejudice to you.

You have now gone through a Courſe of Studies in the Litterary Way, and are upon your Travels for further Improvement, both which are moſt neceſſary for the poliſhing of a Gentleman; but this is not enough, you muſt be uſeful alſo, and for this Purpoſe, the Field is very large, and many are the Labours you are to encounter, among which, is the Study of Hiſtory, *which is the Study of Mankind.*

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As for the Conſtitution of your Country and its Liberties, its Hiſtory will in ſome Meaſure help you to a Knowledge of them, but not ſufficiently. The Knowledge alſo of the Civil Government of your Country, and the Laws relating thereto, will be moſt neceſſary; for which Purpoſe, you muſt read and ſtudy the original Sources from whence theſe are derived: The civil Law of the Romans, which, (we may ſay) is the Law of the World; the Law of Nature and Nations, and the Feudal Law; without all which, and eſpecially the Knowledge of the latter, a Senator of theſe our Kingdoms will be for ever wandering in the Dark, for ever plunged in Ignorance, Error and Confuſion.

The Books on theſe Subjects are many, but a few ſelect ones will be ſufficient; ſuch as Juſtinian's Inſtitutes, otherwiſe called the Digeſt, Sanderſon, Grotius and Puffendorf, but chiefly Tully's Offices, Monteſquieus Spirit of the Laws; with Burlamaqui's Principles of natural Law, the ſeveral Treatiſes on the Feudal Tenures by Gilbert, Wright and Dalrymple.

As for Trade and Commerce, Hiſtory will alſo in ſome Sort aſſiſt you in the Knowledge of theſe, but there are ſome excellent Treatiſes written thereon, which you ſhould read moſt carefully, the Authors, are Decker, Tucker, Gee, Child, Poſtlethwaite, &c.

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The Law and Cuſtom of Parliament, with the Rules and Orders of the Houſe of which you are a Member, will alſo be a moſt neceſſary Knowledge; the firſt you may learn from a Treatiſe intitled LEX PARLIAMENTARIA; the latter, from the Journals of the Houſe.

Inſtructed then, as I have here mentioned, the next Thing to be conſidered is, your Conduct in the Houſe as a Member of the Senate.

The Powers of Oratory are ſo alluring, ſo extremely enchanting, that whilſt Ambition and the Love of Fame inſpire the human Soul, it is not to be wondered at, that Eloquence ſhould be ſo earneſtly purſued; but ſtrip it of its Plumage, of all its pompous, dazzling, outſide Ornaments, and judge of it then.

To ſay, (as has been ſaid,) that a profeſſed Orator is but another Name for an arrant Deceiver, might be carrying it too far, and yet the moſt famous Orators of the Ancients were almoſt all Deceivers; and whether ſome of the Moderns have, or have not been behind hand with them, either in Eloquence, or Deceit, let Britiſh Annals tell. "To employ" (as Cicero ſays) "our Skill, rather to promote our own Re-
"putation and Applauſe, than to ſerve the
"real Intereſt of Truth and Virtue, to

propoſe

" propoſe in an arrogant Manner, to teach " how a bad Cauſe might be managed ſo " as to get the better of a good one, that " is, to undertake to charm the Ears and " ſtrike the Paſſions of the Hearers in ſo " powerful a Manner by ſophiſtical Reaſon- " ing, Turns of Wit, and fine Language, " as to impoſe Falſhoods upon them for " Truths, is not only diſingenuous in itſelf, " but moſt dangerous, nay, moſt miſchievous " to Society."

And Quintilian in his Advice to thoſe who are to ſpeak in publick, ſays thus, " a prudent Man is not ſo deſirous to ſay " a great deal, as to ſpeak to the Pur- " poſe, and therefore will make Choice of " proper Arguments, and ſuch only as have " a direct Tendency to confirm, or illuſtrate " his Subject; for this Purpoſe, it is neceſ- " ſary, that he ſhould firſt gain a thorough " Knowledge of his Subject, and proper " Words will not be wanting to convey " his Ideas."

The firſt Species of Oratory which I have here mentioned, may, (as Shakeſpear ſays,) tickle the vulgar Ears, but muſt ever make the judicious grieve; and be aſſured, that one Sentence of Information conveyed in a plain and ſimple Eloquence, than which, there is not any more difficult to attain to, will be of more real Utility, than Diſcourſes of Hours in a pompous, turgid and obſcure

Rotation

Rotation of Periods, prepared for the Purpoſe; nay, although they were every one of them eſſenced as if they had paſſed through an Alembick, they will be regarded but as the Leſſon of a Schoolboy, or " as the Tale " of an Ideot, full of Sound and Fury, ſig- " nifying nothing."

Nor is the eaſy, flowing, elegant, or florid Species of Oratory, without Matter, (as is generally the Caſe,) the leaſt valuable, being of courſe, of little Utility.

Cicero in his DE ORATORE, Dial. 1. ch. 11. ſays thus, " the Efficacy of Elo- " quence can never be, but when the O- " rator is a complete Maſter of his Subject," and unqueſtionably ſuch a Knowledge with a clear Head, will make a Man eloquent enough, though he ſhould never read a Sentence upon the Art of Oratory.

Again, Dial. 3. ch. 25, " The moſt eligi- " ble Kind of Speaking" (ſays he,) is that " which is moſt intereſting to the Hearer, " and gives him the greateſt Delight, but " a Delight without Satiety."

I remember, ſome Years ago, ſitting in a certain Aſſembly, when one of our firſt rate Speakers had finiſhed his Oration, a Perſon who ſat next to me, and who was in the higheſt Ecſtacy, aſked my Friend who ſat on the other Side of me, a plain, ſenſible

ſenſible, honeſt country Gentleman, if ever he had heard any Thing like it? To which he ſoberly replied, "It may be very fine "for what I know." And yet this Orator was alſo of the firſt Reputation in the Senate of another Kingdom.

Nor yet conceive, that I would not wiſh to have the Paſſions moved upon ſome Occaſions, but then they muſt be grand, important, and juſtifiable withal; the Preſervation of your Country, or the Defence of its Conſtitution.

Nec Deus interſit, niſi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit. HOR.

But on Matters of Civil Policy, in the Formation of Laws, or in the Relation of Facts; in theſe, I ſay, to introduce the extraordinary and the marvellous, the Beauty of Figures, the Splendor of Metaphors, the Luſtre of Thoughts, the Grace of Digreſſion, and the Harmony of Numbers and Cadence, is as abſurd and ridiculous as it would be, to ſee a ſage old Man, all over adorned with the gaudy Pageantry of Plumes and Trappings.

The next Thing I will be free to recommend to you, is Modeſty; it is ſo amiable in a Speaker, and has ſo powerful an Effect upon an Audience, that the greateſt Maſters of Eloquence have affected it; how much more amiable muſt it then be, when it is the "*Bluſh of youthful Reaſon* "*and Virtue?*" When it manifeſtly proceeds

from a real Diffidence of one's own Abilities, and an Awe and Reſpect to the Aſſembly, than which, there is not any Thing that more prepoſſeſſes an Audience in Favour of the Speaker? No Body envies the Man, who does not appear to be too much pleaſed with himſelf.

To ſee a young Man ſtarting up, on every Occaſion, full of himſelf, and ſwelling with Opinion, dictating, as it were, to Age and Experience, is, if (I may uſe the Expreſſion) a moſt hurting Sight, and his Fate will be, like the babling Cur of the Pack, whoſe Yelping ever paſſes unheeded, altho' it ſhould happen, that he hath hit aright.

Scolding and reviling with bitter, perſonal, Invective and Obloquy, is a Mode of Oratory that hath of late Years much prevailed in a neighbouring Nation; above all Things, ſhun it; the more a Man excels in it, the greater will be his Reproach; it is a Diſgrace to Humanity: I hope it will never gain Ground in this Kingdom, where perſonal Inſults are ſo quickly reſented, or we may not need any Act for the Limitation of Parliaments. Should any of theſe Orators ever in this Way attack you Sir, immediately call on the Preſident of the Aſſembly to relieve you, it is his Duty to do ſo; and ſhould he not be regarded, he is armed with a ſufficient Authority to enforce Obedience; he is to call the Tranſgreſſor to Order, (if he ſhould not be ſo

called

called on by a Member of the Houſe,) and if he ſtill perſiſts to diſturb the Aſſembly, he is to call him to the Bar of the Houſe, and upon the Houſe to ſupport the Chair; to ſupport Order, to ſupport their own Dignity; and the Puniſhment may be, Cenſure, Commitment, nay, even Expulſion; were it not for ſuch coercive Powers, whilſt there are the leaſt Remains among any of us of the ferocious Spirit of our Northern Anceſtors, as yet unſoftened and untamed by breeding, there might be but few Aſſemblies where we ſhould meet with more Decency or Decorum, than in one of our Bear Gardens, or at Billingſgate. For ſeveral inſtances of the Puniſhments upon ſuch Occaſions, ſee the aforeſaid *Law and Cuſtoms of Parliament.*

But ſhould your Antagoniſt be permitted to proceed, do you that inſtant quit the Aſſembly, and not ſit a fixed Figure for Malignity and Rancour to diſcharge their Venom on; nor conceive that in ſo doing, your Reſolution will be ſuſpected, quite the contrary, for were you to ſtay, and return the Abuſe, although you ſhould exceed in it, and that it were in Language never ſo GREAT (as it is termed,) pray, where would be the Honour? where the Profit? why, you may have gained the Applauſe of the ill-natured and the malevolent, of the ever factious levelling Mob.

To reſent it perſonally on the Spot, you cannot; to do it afterwards in cool Blood, is a dreadful Iſſue even to the braveſt, to

him, that would undaunted face an Army; and yet to bear it patiently, might either induce a Belief of a Conſciouſneſs in you of having deſerved the Abuſe, or call your Spirit in Queſtion, and be the means of inviting eternal Inſults from all that ſhould afterwards be baſe enough to offer them. Ought Humanity then, or even Decency ſuffer a Man to be wantonly, and at the Will and Pleaſure of another, laid under ſuch diſtreſſing and perplexing Difficulties, as any, even the leaſt of thoſe I have here mentioned? And is not every Member of the Aſſembly indiſpenſably bound to contribute all in his Power to prevent them? But if unguardedly permitted, ought not the Matter of Abuſe be forthwith inquired into? The Accuſer to be called on to make good his Allegations, and the Accuſed to ſtand to his Defence? and if Facts ſhould be proved which meritted ſuch Treatment, then let the Houſe not any Individual, puniſh; if not proved, let the Puniſhment fall on the Accuſer. It muſt be, that either one or the other will not be fit to remain a Member of that auguſt Aſſembly.

But do not imagine from what I have here ſaid, that I think that wicked Men, or their bad Meaſures are not to be expoſed or reproved, far be it from my Thoughts; but do it as a Man of Senſe and Virtue, and as a Gentleman ought to do it, and not as if it were the Reſult of Faction, Spleen, Malignity, or Falſhood.

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To determine to be always on one Side, or of the ſame Party (as it is called,) is abſolute Faction: Such a conſtant Adherence can only be juſtifiable, when it is on the Side of Truth and Virtue, to attempt to juſtify it by that trite old political Maxim, *that the Party muſt ſupport itſelf at all Events*, may as well juſtify a Gang of Robbers.

Avoid alſo moſt carefully, the leaſt Attempt towards Wit or Humour in the Houſe; to gain the ſmalleſt Degree of Credit in this Way, would be the deareſt Purchaſe you could make; it would be at the Expence of all Opinion, nor would you be heeded ſeriouſly, tho' you ſhould be ſerious; a common Joker is a moſt contemptible Character, and to ſee an Aſſembly that ought to be exalted in Wiſdom, having the whole Concerns of a Nation to tranſact, in a Roar of Laughter, be the Cauſe what it may, (but in Truth no Cauſe can juſtify it) is, I ſhould think as melancholy a Sight, as a Man could poſſibly meet.

There is yet another Matter, and of no leſs Importance than any I have yet mentioned, which is your Conduct upon Petitions againſt undue Elections; it is a common Expreſſion, "that a Committee of Elections is a Committee of Affections:"——If this be ſo, where is then our Conſtitution? If after a Perſon hath been duly elected, and perhaps at great Expence, he ſhall be turned out by a Majority of Votes in the Houſe,

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in Conſequence of a ſuperior Intereſt that his Competitor may have from his Connections there, of what avail will free Electors be? Therefore, bear this alſo ever in your Mind, that if you ſhall at any Time be applied to for your Intereſt upon ſuch an Occaſion, or very much preſſed to attend the Committee, it is the higheſt Affront can be offered; for every Member is as much a Judge in the Legiſlature, as any Judge upon any Bench in the inferior Courts of Juſtice is of the Cauſe depending before him, and it is your Duty to attend moſt conſtantly, and whenever the Houſe ſits, as a Centinel to watch for your Country.

Now, we are upon the Subjects of Elections, there is a Term which hath of late Years been much hackneyed upon all ſuch Conteſts as theſe; a Word, which as it hath been uſed by both Parties againſt each other, and as a Word of War, it is plain hath no preciſe or fixed Idea annexed to it, this Word is INDEPENDENT. Now, if it means a Perſon who, uninfluenced by Intereſt, unawed by Power, and unbiaſſed by Prejudice, gives his Vote upon the Election of a Candidate according to the Dictates of a well informed Mind, it is a noble Character. But if an IEDEPENDENT ſignifies a Perſon of a perturbed, reſtleſs Spirit, yoked invincibly under the Notion of Freedom, to a furious firebrand Party, fraught with Principles of eternal Oppoſition and Reſiſtance, ſubverſive of all Government

vernment and Order, it is then an infernal Idea —— But this Matter can only be adjuſted by conſidering the Manners and Principles of the Perſons, who on each Side are moſt buſy and moſt zealous on theſe Occaſions, (for ſuch there always are.) Of the firſt of theſe Characters, I hope there were Numbers in the late Election on both Sides, of the latter, none on either.

That this City hath of late Years, and ſtill is moſt unfortunately divided, and of courſe replete with Animoſities, is a Matter, than which there is not any Thing more certain, and the Alteration that hath been lately made in its Conſtitution with a View to remedy theſe Evils, hath encreaſed them many Degrees; who was or were the firſt Promoter or Promoters of them, it would be needleſs here to mention, it is in Truth no Secret, if they have any Virtue, I will leave them to the Puniſhment in their own Breaſts: If they have not, a million to one, they will meet it from thoſe they have ſeduced, deluded, or inflamed, it has ſeldom been otherwiſe: There is a Saying as true as it is old, "The Love "and Hatred of the People are equally "dangerous." Other Miſchiefs, and no inconſiderable ones which have ariſen from the Alteration in the City Conſtitution, are, that from the frequent Elections which have been the Conſequences of it, a Spirit of Oratory, rather Declamation, is

every

every Day encreaſing, Parties and Factions forming, Tavern-Meetings and expenſive Revellings almoſt every Night, among the Traders and Artificers, to the abſolute miſpending of Time, and Neglect of their Affairs and Buſineſs, which if not ſpeedily corrected, muſt inevitably be productive, ere it be long, of both Fraud and Bankruptcy, and great Diſtreſs to Families. A Parcel of beggarly Orators would be a ſorry Subſtitute of ſkilful, wealthy Merchants, Traders and Mechanicks.

But then, the many Schemes and various Views and Expectations of thoſe different Parties, may, if you are not much upon your Guard, make your Seat, a Seat of Thorns, a Seat of eternal Diſquiet; let it therefore be your conſtant Rule, to hear all Sides, and then let Judgment hold the Scale.

But above all Things, ſhun the Man that *courteth Popularity*; it is a Vice from the very Moment it is ſaught; and though he ſhould revile you for not accompanying him through all his airy Quixote Schemes, yet reſt aſſured, that ſuch a Tongue can never injure you. He muſt be turbulent to pleaſe his Friends.

If you can poſſibly contrive to have the preſent Conſtitution of the City reviſed, and carefully conſidered by the judicious and diſpaſſionate, and ſo rectified and ſettled, as to put a Stop to the Miſchiefs I have here mentioned, and eſtabliſh Peace and Harmony, Sobriety and Induſtry, and a proper Demeanour of every Man in his Calling. Your Connecti-

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ons and your Intereſt, as well on this, as on the other Side of the Water, if not ſuperior, muſt be allowed on all Hands, to be at leaſt equal to any whatſoever. Effect then this good Work, and you will merit a monumental Statue in eternal Remembrance of the Deed.

As for the giving of Money, where it is for the carrying on of publick Works, the Improvement of Agriculture, Arts and Sciences, or Manufactures, be not ſparing of it, it will be ſpent among us, and cannot be better diſpoſed of; but you cannot be too ſtrict in your Enquiries as to the Application of it, and the Prevention of Jobs, be they who they will, that may be ſo abandoned as to be concerned therein. —— Nor be in the leaſt Apprehenſive of any Danger from a moderate national Debt, it muſt, be as Things are circumſtanced at preſent, the Security of the State, the Convenience and Advantage of Individuals, and the Benefit of Commerce and Trade.

The firſt, as many of thoſe, who are our reputed Enemies, muſt from the Inhibitions, Incapacities, and Diſabilities they now labour under in the taking of other Securities, or of purchaſing Lands, be ever a good deal concerned in any publick Loan. *

* And yet it is to be wiſhed, that ſome of theſe were either removed, or relaxed. They are a principal Cauſe of the preſent Scarcity of Money, as alſo of the high Intereſt that is paid for it; not any Thing being more notorious, than, that for the above Reaſons, large Sums have of late been ſent from this Kingdom to other Nations, by thoſe People.

The ſecond, from the Precarioufneſs of Titles, the P—— ge in Suits, the moſt grievous Delays and inſupportable Expence of the Law, and the ſmall Chance there is of the Execution of it, in almoſt every County of the Kingdom: All which call loudly for Redreſs.

And the third, from the Want of ſufficient Caſh in the Kingdom, without which Caſh, or Credit in lieu of it, (which laſt is now at as low an Ebb, as it has been known to be, almoſt ſince the Revolution;) all Trade and Commerce muſt of Courſe be ſuſpended.

In our Conſtitution, the Prerogatives of our Kings were given them by the People for the Advantage of the whole, ſo that theſe, and the Rights of the People are equally ſacred, nor can either be infringed without endangering the whole. King Charles the I. made this Anſwer to the *Petition of Right*, "That the Peoples Liberties " ſtrengthen the King's Prerogative, and the " King's Prerogative is to defend the Peoples " Liberties:" Not but that there are ſome of theſe Prerogatives that are never to be exerted but in Matters of the higheſt Importance, and moſt urgent Neceſſity.

Now, the granting of Penſions, is, and has been Time immemorial, a Prerogative of the Crown to enable it to reward Merit, and provide for old and faithful Servants: It is for its Honour and Dignity, and was by our wiſeſt Anceſtors thought fit it ſhould be ſo.—— It is true, it might be, and perhaps has

has been at Times abuſed, but that cannot in Reaſon be an Argument againſt the Right and Legality of granting them, both which have been confirmed by many Acts of Parliament, and are confirmed every Seſſions by the Tax they are charged with, as our Journals will ſhew; and have not the Commons a ſufficient Power to prevent the miſapplication of publick Money, by ſtopping the Supplies? But as for the granting of Penſions for Lives or Years, how great a Miſchief this may be to future Merit, and how conſiderably it may weaken the Honour, Dignity, and Authority of a ſucceſſor Prince, are Matters which I ſhall not here attempt to diſcuſs; however, I will venture to wiſh, they were only to be during Pleaſure, or for the Life of the Perſon to whom granted, or in ſuch other Manner, as upon mature Deliberation ſhould be judged the leaſt injurious to the Crown and the Subject.

It may be alſo true, (as it is ſaid,) that a penſioned Member cannot be diſintereſted, and that he will never value how much of the publick Money is given, who is afterwards to ſhare it; but ſurely, it is not fair, to conclude abſolutely, that the receiving of a Penſion has ſo depraved the Heart of a Man, that for ſo ſmall a Conſideration he would either contribute towards, or ſtand by, an idle or unconcerned Spectator of the Wreck of his Country; however, let it be your Buſineſs to watch, and if you find Reaſon, it then will be your Duty to join

in every neceſſary Meaſure of *repreſenting* and *addreſſing*; we have a good and gracious Sovereign, who has given us the ſtrongeſt Earneſt that he will not give us Cauſe of *complaining*. But if Government ſhould ever be compelled, from either a wanton or a ſelf-intereſted Oppoſition, in order to carry on the neceſſary Buſineſs of the State, and without which, it cannot exiſt, to buy off thoſe who are moſt ready to be ſold, and who, for the very Purpoſe, are ever in Array againſt them, where ought the Blame to lie?

Wherever real Grievances are, there let the whole of your Attention be directed, but to be diſcontented without Cauſe, to contend for Contention ſake only, or to raiſe up Phantoms for yourſelf to combat in order to inflame, and to attempt the Alteration of ſuch Things as have been eſtabliſhed, in ſuch a Manner as that you cannot but know, there is no Chance of altering them, or if we could, perhaps the Alteration of ſome of them would not be to our Advantage; to roll the Stone of Siſyphus, or like the Viper gnaw the File, why, theſe Things may win you the Applauſe of the ever reſtleſs, fickle Vulgar, but it will be at the Expence of all Credit for ever, with the ſober, the honeſt and the judicious. They are beneath the Dignity of a Senator; of a Man; and are the ſtrongeſt Proof of Corruption of Heart.---- The real Love of our Country ſtands foremoſt

moſt in the Rank of human Virtues; but what Puniſhment is not due to that Wretch, who from ſelfiſh Views, and for his own private Intereſt ſhould under the Shew and Semblance of Patriotiſm, fire with groundleſs Fears and Jealouſies the poor deluded People, nor reſt until he had rouſed them even to the outrageous Diſturbance of Society?

Flectere ſi nequeo Superos, Acheronta mo-
[vebo.

Beſides, it is a real Injury to the Publick, as by ſo doing, that Portion of Time is ingroſſed thereby, which might be otherwiſe employed in uſeful Buſineſſes; as in providing againſt the Scarcity of Corn, by eſtabliſhing publick Granaries, or in ſuch other Manner as ſhall be thought moſt prudent; as alſo for the Protection of the Kingdom, by Fortifications and an eſtabliſhed Militia, (which is undoubtedly its true and beſt Defence,) if we have Proteſtants ſufficient to ſpare for the Purpoſe; or otherwiſe, by a proper and ſecure Augmentation of Forces, to be ever dependant, (as they now are,) for their Pay upon the People; in effecting one ſingle Colliery, and thereby preventing the Loſs of thouſands upon thouſands of Pounds to the Nation; in erecting Buildings for the preſervation of the publick Records, the Buildings in which they are now kept, and eſpecially the Rolls Office, the moſt important

tant of all, being in ſuch a Situation, as to cauſe every Man who has any Property, or the leaſt Degree of Humanity to ſhudder at the very Thought of; in remedying the moſt diſtreſſing Grievances of the Laws, not only in their Proceedings, but their unbounded Expence and endleſs Delays, with the Impoſitions, Exactions, and Inſolence of Office.

Your Property is ſo great that it is not likely you will ever grace the Penſion Liſt, but at the ſame Time let me beſeech you not to decline an honourable Employment of Truſt in the State, if ſuch, (as there is little doubt but it will be the Caſe,) ſhould be propoſed to you; Perſons of your Conſequence are the moſt fit to fill ſuch Offices, and the Safety both of King and Country depend upon its being ſo; and imagine not, that the old Saying, to wit, "That "a Place at Court is a continual Bribe," can ever be applied to you, it is appoſite only to the moſt abandoned Knaves, who have not higher Stakes to loſe.

If the Bill for the Limitation of Parliaments, (which hath been returned to us ſince I firſt gave this Letter, to the Preſs,) be of ſuch high Import to this Kingdom that, (as has been urged,) it could not be ſaid we had a Conſtitution without it, and will be of ſuch immenſe Advantage, (as is conceived,) to the Proteſtant Intereſt, in the Encreaſe of Conformiſts among the lower People, what grateful Thanks are due to our moſt gracious,

moſt

moſt indulgent Sovereign who hath vouchſafed to grant it; as alſo to his moſt worthy and moſt excellent Vicegerent, who recommended it, and in whoſe Adminiſtration it hath been obtained? But at the ſame Time, let it be your Care to prevent, as much as may be, the ill Effects that may otherwiſe of Courſe ariſe from ſuch a frequency of Elections, and eſpecially in this, (I may ſay,) poor Kingdom, as yet but in its Infancy of thriving, and where a Diſpoſition to Labour and Induſtry is not altogether as vigorous as it is to be wiſhed it was, or all the hoped for good Effects of this much wiſhed for Bill, may be prevented or defeated. Some Writers on Government have mentioned Balloting as the moſt effectual Means of preventing all the Evils of Elections in general. Suppoſe then, that not only the Repreſentatives for Counties and Borroughs were to be choſen by Ballot, but alſo all others whatſoever, in every Caſe, where Elections are to be, from the higheſt to the loweſt Office in the Community?

This might alſo in ſome Meaſure put a Stop to that unconſtitutional Proceeding of obtaining early Promiſes of Votes; and now, it may not be improper here to mention what the Moral Laws has been at all Times, and in all Nations in Regard of Promiſes. Such Promiſes, (according to Tully, Sanders, Grotius, Puffendorf, and other Writers of this Law,) are not to be kept, as are *malum in ſe*, nor ſuch as will but bring a Miſchief on him they

were

were made to; no more are thoſe which tend to the Damage of the Promiſer himſelf, more than the Profit of him they were promiſed to: Again, if the Promiſe be againſt publick Utility; or if it be extorted from a Man, by the unjuſt Means of either Fear, or Intereſt. And they further ſay, that they to whom ſuch Promiſes are made, would be much to blame, ſhould they complain of being diſappointed. But as many Perſons who do not underſtand this Matter, may yet have Scruples, and as it has been ſaid, that it might lead to introduce the Breach of Promiſe in other Matters not juſtifiable, would it not be better upon all Accounts, to reſerve the Promiſe even to the very Hour of Election?

To conclude, (as I before mentioned,) the Eyes of Numbers will be on you, and as you have every Advantage you can wiſh for, in this World, to enable you to be well qualified to fill the high and moſt important Poſt to which you have been called and choſen, as Birth, Dignity, large Poſſeſſions, &c. their Expectations will be great. That you may moſt fully anſwer them, and equal all the Goodneſs and all the Greatneſs of your moſt noble Anceſtors,

Is the ſincere Wiſh of, &c.

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